

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2464

INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA

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TAGS: UNGA XM

SUBJ: 30TH UNGA: TOAST OF SECRETARY KISSINGER AT THE ARA
LUNCHEON, SEPTEMBER 30, 1975

FOLLOWING IS THE PREPARED TEXT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S
REMARKS AT THE LUNCHEON IN HONOR OF THE LATIN AMERICAN
FOREIGN MINISTERS AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE
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THIS IS THE THIRD YEAR I HAVE ENJOYED THE CONSIDERABLE HONOR
AS SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEETING WITH
YOU FOR LUNCH AT THIS CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

I DO SO THIS TIME, AS BEFORE, AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE IMPORTANCE
THAT WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ATTACH TO OUR FRIEND-
SHIP WITH OUR FELLOW NATIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE HAS, FOR CENTURIES, REPRESENTED THE HOPE
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OF MANKIND. AND SO IT DOES TODAY. THE UNITED STATES IS CON-

VINCE THAT IF WE AND OUR LATIN AMERICAN FRIENDS, WITH WHOM WE HAVE A TRADITION OF POLITICAL COOPERATION, CAN SOLVE THE PRESSING PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN AGE, WE CAN ONCE AGAIN BE A BEACON TO HUMANITY.

IT MAKES A DIFFERENCE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE SHARE A COMMON HERITAGE. WE WERE BORN IN THE SAME STRUGGLE AGAINST FOREIGN DOMINATION AND COLONIAL TYRANNY. WE HAVE A PROUD HISTORY OF MUTUAL SUPPORT IN TIME OF TROUBLE. WE HAVE A GENERATION OF SUCCESSFUL PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH MECHANISMS OF COOPERATION ON OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES.

TWO YEARS AGO I SUGGESTED THAT WE BEGIN A DIALOGUE FOR A MORE CREATIVE COOPERATION, ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT, TO MEET THE NEW CHALLENGES IN THIS AGE. THIS WAS NOT A SLOGAN, OR A MOMENTARY SHIFT OF MOOD. OUR PURPOSE WAS, AND MUST BE, TO TRANSFORM THE AFFAIRS OF THE NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS FOR THE DECADES TO COME. THE ROAD AHEAD WILL BE LONG. DEEP-SEATED CHANGE IS NEVER EASY. BUT THE SPIRIT WHICH THE NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE HAVE BROUGHT TO THE EFFORT GIVES ME GREAT HOPE AND GIVES US ALL A BRIGHT PROSPECT.

OUR INITIATIVE HAS HAD TWO OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, AS I SAID AT THE OUTSET TWO YEARS AGO, IT WAS RIGHT THAT WE SHOULD PUT ASIDE THE BITTERNESS OF OLD POLITICAL DISPUTES. THE PROPOSAL WAS A WAY OF SAYING THAT WE MUST BREAK WITH THE MUTUALLY-MISDIRECTED MONOLOGUES WHICH SO OFTEN MARRED OUR RELATIONS IN THE PAST, AND MOVE FORWARD, IN A NEW SPIRIT, TO ADDRESS OUR COMMON PROBLEMS.

SECOND, OUR EFFORT HAD TO BE INSPIRED BY A BROADER AND POSITIVE VISION OF THE FUTURE OF THIS HEMISPHERE. IT WAS, AND IS, CLEAR TO ALL THAT THE GOALS WE SHARE IN THIS YEAR--PEACE, PROSPERITY, AND JUSTICE--CALL FOR A NEW INTENSITY OF COOPERATION; HENCE OUR MUTUAL EFFORT WILL REQUIRE REGULAR AND CANDID CONSULTATION.

LET ME TOUCH ON WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN THESE TWO AREAS SINCE WE MET THE FIRST TIME:

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FIRST, TO ELIMINATE THE POLITICAL VESTIGES OF THE PAST:

--WE HAVE MODIFIED THE RIO TREATY TO MAKE IT MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY, WE HAVE APPLIED THE MODIFIED PRINCIPLE TO THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA, THEREBY REMOVING A DIVISIVE ISSUE FROM OUR AGENDA.

--THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS TOWARD A MODERNIZED CANAL TREATY WHICH WILL ACCOMMODATE THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD PROCEED TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, BASED ON JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE BALANCED TREATY THAT WE AND PANAMA WILL ACHIEVE WILL BE APPROVED BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

--DISPUTES OVER CONTROL OF THE SEAS ARE ANOTHER TRADITIONAL PROBLEM IN OUR RELATIONS. WE ARE BEGINNING TO MAKE HEADWAY ON THIS AS WELL. THE DISCUSSIONS THAT WILL BEGIN SHORTLY AMONG INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS CAN LEAD TO A REGIONAL AGREEMENT ON A REGIME FOR TUNA FISHING IN THE EASTERN PACIFIC, AND DEFUSE WHAT HAS BEEN A LONGSTANDING AND NEEDLESS COMPLICATION TO HEMISPHERIC COOPERATION.

--AT THE SAME TIME, WE WISH TO WORK WITH LATIN AMERICA ON THE OVERALL SHAPE OF THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE SEA. TWO MONTHS AGO AT MONTREAL, I SET FORTH A COMPREHENSIVE US POSITION FOR THE NEXT PHASE OF THIS CRUCIAL NEGOTIATION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SUBSTANTIAL AND CONCRETE PROGRESS AT THE NEXT LAW OF THE SEAS SESSION IN MARCH. THIS IS A MATTER OF FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE, AND AROUND THE WORLD.

--ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE HAS BEEN THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF FOREIGN INVESTORS IN YOUR ECONOMIES; THERE ARE DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON THIS ISSUE, NATURALLY, ARISING FROM OUR RESPECTIVE INTERESTS AND HISTORIES. THESE DIFFERENCES CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO DISAPPEAR MAGICALLY AT THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT A SOLUTION. BUT AS I POINTED OUT BEFORE THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THERE ARE VAST RESOURCES AVAILABLE IN THE CHANNEL OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND OUR COMMON AIM SHOULD BE TO

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WORK OUT AGREED PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT, ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT AND NATIONAL DIGNITY.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO HAVE INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT WITHIN THE OAS AND TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE AS WELL IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. MEANWHILE, WE WILL DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL CASES AS THEY ARISE, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR COMPLEMENTARY INTEREST IN INCREASING THE FLOW OF CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY TO LATIN AMERICA THROUGH ALL AVAILABLE MEANS. AND THE UNITED STATES WILL WORK WITH THE ATTITUDE THAT WE SHOULD NOT PERMIT THESE INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS TO DISRUPT OUR IMPORTANT OVERALL RELATIONSHIPS.

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BUT BEYOND THESE SPECIFIC STEPS FORWARD, WE ARE PLEASED AT THE REMARKABLE IMPROVEMENT ON BOTH SIDES IN THE SPIRIT AND TENOR OF OUR DISCUSSIONS. IN THE MANY FORUMS WHERE OUR WORK TOGETHER IS CARRIED OUT, AND PERHAPS MOST NOTABLY THE OAS, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE CHARACTER OF OUR DELIBERATIONS HAS MARKEDLY CHANGED. RITUALISTIC INVOCATION OF EMPTY ABSTRACTIONS HAS GIVEN WAY TO SERIOUS, INFORMAL, AND FRANK DISCOURSE ABOUT CONCRETE ISSUES. IDEOLOGICAL SLOGANEERING HAS SUBSIDED; THE OVERHEATED RHETORIC OF NORTH-SOUTH CONFRONTATION HAS DIMINISHED. PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN ADAPTED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. WE HAVE THUS BEEN ABLE TO CLARIFY OUR DIFFERENCES AND FIND REALISTIC SOLUTIONS WHERE OUR INTERESTS CONVERGE.

LET ME NOW TURN TO THE SECOND AREA OF OUR COMMON ENDEAVOR, OUR COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS:

THE DRAMATIC EVIDENCE OF OUR GLOBAL ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS COMPLICATED OUR REGIONAL RELATIONSHIP. MANY ISSUES IMPORTANT TO THAT RELATIONSHIP, SUCH AS COMMODITY AGREEMENTS AND ACCESS TO MARKETS, CAN BE RESOLVED EFFECTIVELY ONLY IN A GLOBAL FORUM, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT DISCUSSION OF

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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE MUST FIND THESE SOLUTIONS. WE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE CAN WORK TO SHAPE THESE NEW GLOBAL ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT THEY ARE RESPONSIVE TO OUR COMMON NEEDS.

LATIN AMERICA'S NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE UNIQUE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. BY AND LARGE, YOUR COUNTRIES ARE AMONG THE MOST ADVANCED OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. BUT THIS HIGHER STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT HAS ITS OWN DIFFICULTIES. BECAUSE YOU ARE MORE INDUSTRIALIZED AND HAVE CREATED MORE COMPLEX AND MORE OPEN ECONOMIES, YOUR COUNTRIES ARE PERHAPS MORE VULNERABLE TO FLUCTUATIONS IN EXPORT EARNINGS, TO SUDDEN INCREASES IN THE COST OF IMPORTED INTERMEDIATE GOODS, AND TO THE EBB AND FLOW OF PRIVATE CAPITAL.

THE ARBITRARY OIL PRICE RISES AND THE WORLD RECESSION HAVE DAMAGED THE ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF EVERY NATION. THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS SHOWN SOME AWARENESS OF THE NEEDS OF THE VERY POOREST COUNTRIES, AND THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS HAVE PUT IN PLACE SOME EMERGENCY MEASURES TO MEET THOSE NEEDS. IT IS TIME NOW THAT THE WORLD COMMUNITY ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT PERCUILIAR TO LATIN AMERICA, AND THAT IT ENLARGE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR GROWTH OF THE ECONOMIES HERE IN THIS HEMISPHERE WHICH ARE EMBARKED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION.

IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS THAT IN OUR INITIATIVE AT THE SPECIAL SESSION I STRESSED MEASURES WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO LATIN AMERICA:

--I RECOMMENDED CREATION OF A \$10 BILLION DEVELOPMENT SECURITY FACILITY WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, TO ADDRESS WHAT IS THE SIGLE MOST SERIOUS HISTORIC IMPEDIMENT TO LATIN AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS: THE VIOLENT FLUCTUATIONS IN EXPORT EARNINGS WHICH HAVE DISTORTED AND UNBALANCED EVEN THE BEST-LAID OF LATIN AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS.

--I ALSO SUPPORTED THE CREATION OF A REGIONAL LATIN AMERICAN SAFETY NET, TO HELP CUSHION PARTICULAR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS EMERGENCIES WITHIN THIS HEMISPHERE.

--I REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPORVED ACCESS TO PRIVATE
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CAPITAL MARKETS AND PROPOSED AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT TRUST. THIS IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR LATIN AMERICA, SINCE SEVERAL NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE ARE ON THE THRESHOLD OF BEING ACTIVE COMPETITORS FOR FUNDS IN CAPITAL MARKETS, WHICH WOULD BE OF GREAT BENEFIT TO THE PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH.

--I ALSO PROPOSED THE ORGANIZATION, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, OF NEW METHODS OF PRODUCER-CONSUMER COOPERATION WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC COMMODITIES. BECAUSE OF ITS HISTORIC DEPENDENCE ON COMMODITY EXPORTS, LATIN AMERICA HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP COMMODITY ARRANGEMENTS. WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES.

--I WAS PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THE FORTHCOMING IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES SCHEME, WHICH WAS DESIGNED FROM THE BEGINNING WITH LATIN AMERICA'S NEEDS IN MIND.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS GRATIFIED THAT THESE PROPOSALS WERE RECEIVED IN THE SPECIAL SESSION IN A SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE DETAILS. WE ARE PREPARED TO HAVE SPECIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE PARTNERS BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS IN WIDER FORUMS.

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THESE WILL BE THE ATTITUDES AND THE HOPES WE WILL BEING TO OUR RELATIONS WITH YOUR COUNTRIES IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. BUT WE ARE MORE AND MORE AWARE THAT NO SINGLE POLICY CAN TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT THE RICH COMPLEXITY OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

HOWEVER HELPFUL THE REGIONAL CONCEPT MAY BE, IT IS IN THE END
AN ABSTRACTION. WE DO NOT CONDUCT RELATIONS WITH ABSTRACTIONS.
WE CONDUCT RELATIONS WITH DISTINCT NATIONS.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THIS HEMISPHERE, GUIDED BY THE
COMMON CHALLENGE AND THE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ALL WHICH
I HAVE DESCRIBED. BUT WE WILL NOT FOREGET THAT EACH OF YOUR
COUNTRIES IS DIFFERENT. EACH IS WORTHY OF OUR RESPECT AND
ATTENTION. EACH HAS ITS OWN PROBLEMS AND ITS OWN NATIONAL VALUES
AND ASPIRATIONS. I PLEDGE TO YOU OUR BEST EFFORTS TO TRY TO
UNDERSTAND, AND TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS WE CAN, TO EACH DISTRINCTIVE
SET OF NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE WILL NOT SURRENDER TO A SINGLE
FORMULA OUR DESIRE FOR WARM AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH EACH
NATION IN THE HEMISPHERE.

EXCELLENCIES AND FRIENDS,

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IN THIS, THE WESTERN HEMIHPHERE, WE SHARE A LEGACY FROM THE PAST;
WE SHARE THE ANGUISH OF THE PRESENT; WE SHARE A PROMISE FOR THE
FUTURE. THE WORLD HAS ENTERED A CHALLENGING YEAR.BUT NOWHERE
ON THIS PLANET IS THERE A BETTER PROSPECT THAT MANKIND CAN MASTER
THE FUTURE THAN HERE AMONG THE FAMILY OF AMERICAN NATIONS. WE
ARE DIVERSE, AND WE CHERISH OUR IDENTITIES, YET WE SHARE A
COMMON HERITAGE AND OUR DESTINIES DEPEND ON OUR COLLABORATION.
THE AMERICAS ARE SYNONYMOUS WITH HOPE. THE DREAM THAT HAS
INSPIRED OUR PEOPLES FOR FIVE CENTURIES MUST BE REKINDLED BY OUR
GENERATION. WHAT WE DO HERE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE HAS A
MEANING NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES BUT FOR A WORLD THAT NEEDS SOME
PROOF OF WHAT FREE PEOPLES WORKING TOGETHER CAN ACCOMPLISH. IT
IS IN OUR POWER TO FASHION A COMMON VISION FOR THE FUTURE.

DURING THE COMING YEAR, THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE WILL BE
CELEBRATING THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR FIRST
INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE CALLED BY SIMON BOLIVAR, AND THE
200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.
THERE IS NO MORE FITTING TIME THAN THIS TO REDEDICATE OUR-
SELVES TO THE DREAM OF THE AMERICAS.

EXCELLENCIES AND FRIENDS, PLEASE JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE
PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AND TO OUR COMMON FUTURE.
MAY WE STRENGTHEN OUR COLLABORATION IN THE PURSUIT OF A FREER,
MORE JUST AND MORE GENEROUS WORLD. UNQTE.
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